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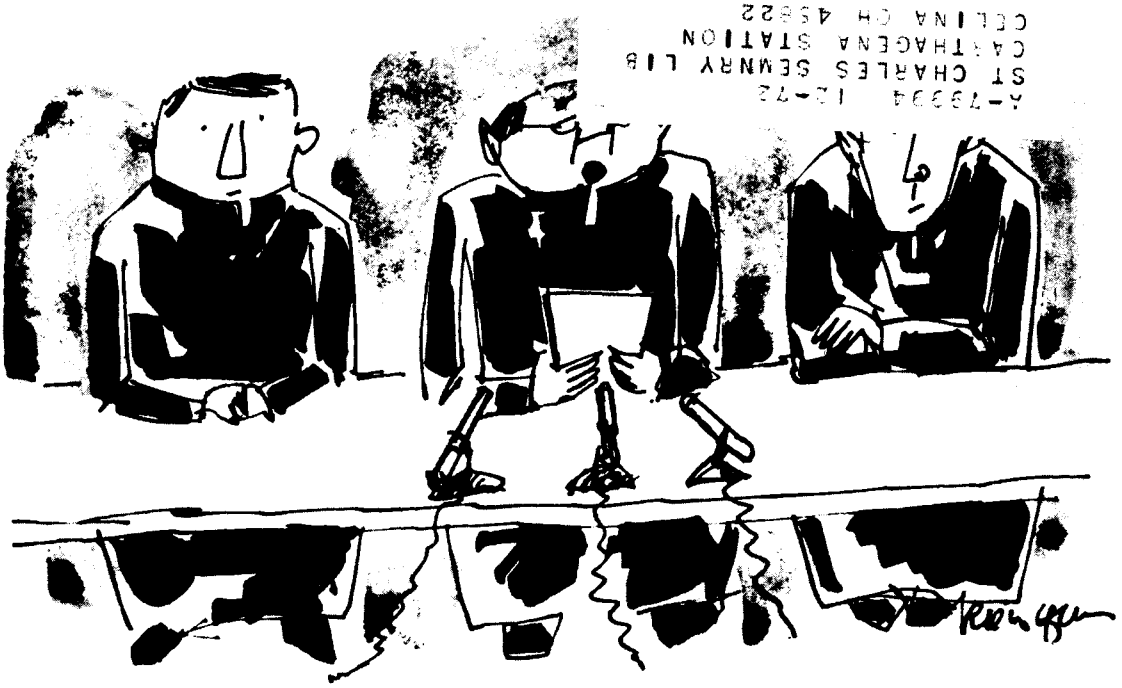
GORDON C. ZAHN

THE SCANDAL OF SILENCE



"Since we are looked up to as moral leaders, and since it is our responsibility to guide the faithful, some of us have decided, after six years of deliberation, that the war may be immoral."

RICHARD B. DU BOFF **NIXON'S POWER PLAY**
PETER FREIBERG **DEAD CENTER-LEFT IN ITALY**
KENNETH REXROTH **CHINA: SCIENCE & CIVILIZATION**
GEORGE ABBOTT WHITE **REMEMBER THE WEATHERMEN**
HARTUNG & WESTERBECK **THE SCREEN SURVEYED**
PETER STEINFELS **AN END TO SERENITY**

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NEWS & VIEWS

Knowing the Berrigans

Many people, and *Newsweek* itself, expressed surprise at the finding of the Gallup survey into Catholic acquaintance with the Berrigans.

"Only 38 percent of all Catholics even recognize their names," said *Newsweek* in its cover story on U.S. Catholics (Oct. 4 issue).

"Only" . . . The adjective is inexact. Thirty-eight percent seems a remarkably high recognition factor, particularly considering that the Berrigans are largely non-electronic personalities.

Knowledge of them derives, in the main, from what? The print media.

Given the desultory reading habits of Americans, Catholic or otherwise, 38 percent has to be impressive recognition.

The question put to the survey audience was: "Do you know who the Berrigan brothers are?" Yes or No . . .

You could count on one hand, I'd bet, the number of U.S. Senators whose recognition percentage would top 38 in a similar nationwide study of Senatorial visibilities.

Suppose, also, that the Berrigan question was more generalized. Suppose it was worded: "Have you heard about priests who have raided draft boards and destroyed Selective Service records?"

Such a wording would probably produce percentages the precise reverse of the 62 percent who said they did not know who the Berrigans are, and the 38 who said they did. The framing of the question is that predetermining.

Whatever all that, recognition of the Berrigan brothers is certainly less a problem for Catholics than it is for certain right-wingers who would save the U.S. from the Berrigan witness.

At the Danbury Prison Rally on Oct. 2, a motorcycle gang positioned itself at one side of the prison entrance. One of its signs read: "Hang Barrigan; Kill a Commie Today."

What's Gallup to say about American First-ers who misidentify two Berrigans as one Barrigan?

War and Children

This is the week for surveys, and a fascinating one appears in the monthly publication of the Central School Boards Committee for Educational Research, a committee of the New York State School Boards Association.

It is a study as to how the loyalties of American children have been affected by having lived their entire lives in wartime: the cold war of anti-communism and the hot war of Southeast Asia.

The findings are thoroughly surprising. For instance, the country rates strong; there is a 54 percent acceptance of wars as sometimes needed, and a 52 percent willingness "to die for his country's freedom." The President, on the other hand, rates low marks, there being deep suspicion of his credibility and fallibility. Only 22 percent of children in grades 5 to 8 believe Nixon always tells the truth about the war, and only a third believes he is doing the "right" thing in Vietnam. (A good reason, come to think of it, for dropping the voting age to 10.)

The survey covers 2,677 children in grades 3 to 8 of 14 schools in areas of New York and New Jersey. The surveyor was Howard Tolley, Jr., now an assistant professor at Wilberforce University.

The decrease in children's idealization of the President is perhaps the most dramatic finding of the survey. Three others stand out:

First, parents significantly influence children's outlook on salient public issues, but play a smaller role in teaching more basic political values. (Schools, for example, appear to contribute more to a child's patriotic commitment.)

Second, the media help children comprehend the facts about an issue such as the war, but rarely modify their attitudes. (Despite charges that TV has "poisoned" American minds against the war, the survey found no evidence that the media had created new attitudes or changed children's outlooks on U.S. policy.)

Third, the questions on Vietnam confirm that young people learn important values before they fully understand the facts, thus the presence of dogmatic opinions on issues from which the children may actually have been shielded.

In this context, the survey found majority support for the war during the first years at school. By the fifth grade, however, "serious reservations" begin to be displayed. Factors in this evolution of thought are said to be less the schools themselves (the survey revealed that schools tend to eschew discussion of questions which polarize the community and might provoke objections from parents), than age, sex, economic status, race and the media.

Black children, for example, showed a much greater opposition to the war, "perhaps because they suffered disproportionately in the conflict." The survey noted that whereas three percent of white children reported a relative killed in Vietnam, 12 percent of black children said they had lost a family member!

The Tolley study offered no formula for a generation of peace through education. But it did conclude that adults of tomorrow might be better served by their teachers today, if schools recognized the importance of early political learning and forthrightly addressed the questions of war and peace.

Primeau on Pulpits

Finally, not another survey, but a pastoral letter concerning the pulpit and socio-political questions. It comes from Bishop Ernest Primeau of Manchester, N.H., from whom too little is heard lately.

Bishop Primeau:

"One of the difficulties faced by the preacher is the application of principles to a socio-political issue on which men of goodwill will honestly and vigorously differ. Here the preacher will avoid a dogmatic position. Speak out he may, and often must, but let him explain that he is attempting to discuss with his people his personal application of the principles . . .

"If a priest, motivated by partisan politics, were to make use of the pulpit to expound on purely secular subjects, he would be clearly out of order . . .

"If, for whatever motives the preacher ignores the social imperatives of the gospel, fails to make his message relevant to everyday life, and neglects to awaken and sharpen the social conscience of his people, he too is remiss in his responsibility as minister of the Word.

"For Christianity is not a set of sterile doctrines, a compendium of principles which are rigidly confined to the 'spiritual' or 'religious,' as though this were totally walled off from the 'secular or worldly' area of life. Christianity is, in fact, a way of life. One's Christian faith must permeate every facet of life, including the social, economic and political."

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

No Yawning at Dawn

Torrington, Conn.

To the Editors: For the last few months James Hitchcock's "Aggiornamento Has Failed" [May 14] has also been on my mind.

But I'm not ready to admit it has failed—it's just beginning. If Angelo Roncalli could say "It is only dawn!" after almost 2000 years, could not Mr. Franck [Sept. 24] give the metaphor a little more than 10 years before playing the "taps" of evening?

Perhaps it's enough that Rome is merely the capital of Italy. The moral authority of the papacy should not depend upon material display. Although Pope Paul VI lacks the personal charisma of Pope John XXIII, his *Progressio Populorum* and "On the Coming Eightieth" inspire plenty of us.

It would seem that more and more people have had it with labels like "radical" and "conservative," "progressive" and "reactionary." We've had enough of bickering and blaming. We are not and never will be a "sect." We are "one, holy, catholic and apostolic."

If, in pledging allegiance to America, we can say "one nation, under God, indivisible . . ." and have room for Barry Goldwater and George McGovern without too much discomfort, why can we not in expressing our Creed have even more room—room, in fact, for the whole world.

We are a pilgrim church, rediscovering dialogue and true charity. We have Dom Helder, emerging African visionaries, a Ned O'Gorman, etc. No, *aggiornamento* has not failed, it is *still* dawn. Good morning, Mr. Franck!

MARY ANN BORLA

Up The New Yorker

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: I'd like to correct the first sentence of Mr. Wallenstein's review of *Crow* that appeared in the September 17th issue of *Commonweal.* The

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A SAGA OF SHAME

"The most appalling tide of human misery in modern times . . . a saga of shame which should overwhelm the moral sensitivities of people throughout the world. . . . You see infants with their skin hanging loosely in folds from their tiny bones—lacking the strength even to lift their heads. You see children with legs and feet swollen with edema and malnutrition. . . . You see babies going blind for lack of vitamins, or covered with sores that will not heal. You see in the eyes of their parents the despair of ever having their children well again. . . . You see the corpse of the child who died just the night before."

Thus Edward Kennedy described what he had observed on a week's tour of refugee camps in India. There are now approximately nine million people in those camps, and more arrive over the border from East Bengal daily. *A saga of shame which should overwhelm the moral sensitivities of people throughout the world.* Should. But doesn't. For one reason or another, the world seems determined to hide from itself the reality of the terror in East Bengal and the plight of the refugees it has generated. The United Nations once again proves itself unable to confront an issue which does not fit neatly into the categories of the decolonialization struggles. The United States identifies its interests with "stability," and "stability" with the brutal repression of a national movement by a military oligarchy within a minority. Peking plays geopolitics. The rest of us turn our heads. Because we don't know what we can do. Or because we fear that the demands, of these fellow men, hungry, ill, and without shelter, upon our consciences and resources would be beyond our willingness to give. Pope Paul appealed for help for the refugees, asking that October 10 be a day of prayer and fasting as a sign of participation in their suffering. *L'Osservatore Romano* treated the matter routinely, as of somewhat less importance than presentation of credentials to the Holy See by the Ambassador from El Salvador. But did any of the rest of us do better?

The shame which should overwhelm American moral sensitivities is particularly sharp. The violence the West Pakistan military government wreaked upon the Bengalis was, in sizable measure, done with American military equipment, equipment which, incredibly enough, has continued to be shipped to the Pakistan forces, The various alibis—from bureaucratic necessity to the

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desire to maintain "influence" and "leverage" so as to modify West Pakistan's repressiveness—are almost as shocking as the plain fact itself. Behind these rationalizations, destined only to deceive ourselves, the U.S. is making a choice in Southern Asia: for an authoritarian regime, for the inevitably cruel occupation of East Bengal by the West Pakistanis, against a nationalist movement, and even against India. Our leaders, we hope, will spare us the sophistry of saying we do this in the name of a post-Vietnam policy of non-intervention. They are not being called upon to intervene for Bangla Desh; nothing would be more distressing than to learn of covert involvement in the simmering civil war there. Washington is not being asked to break with Islamabad. It should simply reduce U.S. complicity to a minimum, letting the West Pakistan government take this gesture however it wishes; and begin bailing out India for its generosity to the refugees, not West Pakistan for its violence.

THE DRAFT GOES ON

If moral victories counted for more than they do, one could take consolation that after three decades of living with military conscription, Congress should be able to suspend for five months the drafting of American young men and thus register doubt about the wisdom of the nation's seemingly endless military service system.

But consolation is impossible given the spineless way the Senate coalition blocking the draft's extension caved in once the Administration dangled carrots before the noses of segments of the coalition. Once again the Senate was the victim of its ancient impulse to serve interests whose welfare may or may not be bound up with the legislation under debate. In this instance, Administration concession on a $2.4 billion military pay raise (a concession canceled almost instantly by the invocation of the wage-price freeze) helped pave the way for further institutionalization of the status quo on the draft.

Yet if one can be distressed with the Senate's performance, how much more so that of the Administration—which constantly cried crisis, and wailed about 30,000 inductees' being urgently needed to meet the Army's manpower requirements through the end of this year. After the draft bill was safely through the Senate, it was announced that only 10,000 would be needed after all, and that draft lottery number 125 would be the ceiling for draft calls for the remainder of the year, a relatively low ceiling.

Senator Alan Cranston of California was one of the very few to protest the duplicity of the Administration's Congressional strategy, making the cogent point that if the security of the country depended on a mere 10,000 raw recruits, there was plenty of time to debate fully the necessity of the draft. Senator Cranston was absolutely right. Now the Senate must wait two years merely for the opportunity to take up a question it had a perfect chance to thrash out this session. This is not the sort of decisive leadership that will ever turn the country around.

RETURN TO NORMALCY

We recently noticed a cartoon based on the line, "The wages of sin are . . . frozen." Normalcy is in view, however. Under Phase 2, we assume, the wages of sin will, as before, be linked to productivity.

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DEAD CENTER-LEFT IN ITALY

OPPORTUNITY A SINISTRA

When the Center-Left coalition was inaugurated in Italy in 1963, it was hailed in much the same way as the Kennedy Administration had been greeted in the United States three years earlier. Hopes were expressed that the Center-Left would enact fundamental economic and social reforms, put Italy on the road toward ending poverty, and restructure the unresponsive and often corrupt bureaucracy. Coalition supporters were optimistic that a major by-product would be a decline in the popularity of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), the strongest in the West.

Today, the Center-Left is in shambles, its major participants—Christian Democrats and Socialists—busy pinning responsibility on the other for the admitted failure to achieve substantial reforms. After several years of dynamic economic growth, the country has experienced a downturn on the heels of the most massive wave of labor unrest in postwar Europe. Riots have broken out in the South, encouraged by a resurgent neo-Fascist Italian Social Movement. And the disarray of the Center-Left has led to a widespread belief that before long the Communists will be invited to join in a governing coalition.

All this would seem to indicate that the PCI is riding high: it has clearly become "respectable." The Vatican's attitude has mellowed perceptibly. The two non-Communist trade unions, the Catholic CISL and the Socialist UIL, are cooperating more closely with the larger,

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Communist-led CGIL. The Communists won an important victory when the Center-Left agreed to establish regional governments, thus giving the PCI control of the "Red Belt" provinces. Center-Left Premier Emilio Colombo has admitted that the PCI is "a real force with deep roots in Italian society."

But despite its surface well-being, the PCI is in trouble —and ironically, the failures of the Center-Left are partly responsible. Anger over government inaction helped spark the "hot autumn" of 1969, when more than five million workers went on strike, sometimes in opposition to their unions. In many cases, there were calls for egalitarian pay increases, new housing, schools and hospitals, improved work conditions and redistribution of income in addition to the usual bread-and-butter demands. Student demonstrations that began as rebellions against educational authoritarianism developed into protests backing the strikers. The growing economic inequality between the industrial North and the South was the basic cause of the riots that flared in Reggio Calabria in 1970.

The Communists reacted to the upsurge in militant protests by attempting to cool things off. PCI leaders sought to depoliticize the strikes, urging students and workers to focus on Parliament as the best hope for change. They made no effort to cement a student-worker alliance or create viable factory councils through which union members could gain more control over their lives. This reaction should not have been surprising, for the party has been cautious, even conservative, since it participated in the first postwar national unity government that founded the Italian Republic. Nevertheless, the PCI often articulated issues on which the Left could unite and had convinced many Italians it was a force for radical change. Now, many union militants and students were forced to look at the party in a new light.

As a result of this reexamination, many who once viewed the party as a revolutionary vehicle now consider it "the left wing of the establishment." Trends that began in the 1950s have accelerated: membership continues to slide, while the average age of party members keeps rising. And in a recent development, experienced party workers are departing to join an "extra-parliamentary" movement that has emerged on the PCI's left.

This movement is centered around the newspaper *Il Manifesto,* founded in June, 1969, by several prominent Communist intellectuals and officials who were expelled from the PCI six months later. *Il Manifesto,* which has a circulation of about 40,000, rejects the Soviet model of socialism and the PCI's undemocratic structure as "repressive," sympathizes with the anti-bureaucratic aspects of the Chinese Cultural Revolution and denies the PCI's contention that Italian capitalism can be reformed. *Il Manifesto* believes a certain amount of violence will be necessary to overthrow the system, but its emphasis is on the need for a revolutionary political party that will undertake the long, arduous task of political organization. The *Manifesto* group was critical of the *groupuscules,* small bands of Maoist students which were active in 1969 and 1970 but have now virtually disappeared.

Besides spurring the formation of opposition on its left, the Communist Party's new image has also helped the neo-Fascists. The Italian Social Movement almost tripled its 1970 vote in last June's scattered regional and local elections, winning 13.9 per cent of the vote, while the Communist and Center-Left parties lost ground. The PCI has long been the party to which millions of voters turn to protest what "the politicians" are doing. Today the neo-Fascists appear to be more "anti-Establishment" than the Communists. The neo-Fascist vote is still relatively small, however, and although the extent of its support among police and the military is cause for concern, neither an electoral victory nor a Greek-style "colonels' revolution" is likely to materialize.

In an analysis of the PCI in *Il Manifesto,* Lucio Magri, a founder of the group, said Communist leaders were aware that the party's rightward trend would stimulate external and internal opposition but were determined to gain "the participation of the PCI in the administration of the state." Already, there is speculation of an eventual "grand alliance" between the Christian Democrats and the Communists. A far more likely first step, however, is a Center-Left coalition gaining Communist support in exchange for a commitment to specified reforms, followed by a Cabinet containing one or two Communist ministers. Whatever the arrangement, the PCI now seems to be willing to allow the Christian Democrats to retain the dominant position in any "Popular Front" government. December's parliamentary election of a new President should provide some indication of the changing relationship between the Communists and the Christian Democrats.

As Magri points out, both sides will have to fulfill certain conditions if the PCI supports or participates in a government: the Cabinet will have to institute meaningful reforms, while the Communists must guarantee labor peace to the huge corporations who contribute so heavily to the Christian Democrats. *Il Manifesto* believes neither side will be able to meet its obligations: the government will prove unwilling or unable to undertake the reforms, and the Communists will find it impossible to "deliver" their working-class constituency.

If the PCI's gamble fails, Italy faces a long period of social and political unrest, with the end result impossible to foresee. But if it succeeds, the stability of the country's present institutions will have been greatly strengthened through an arrangement Lenin never dreamed of—making a Communist party an integral, permanent component of the government of a capitalist state.

PETER FREIBERG

(Peter Freiberg, who has recently returned from Italy, is a reporter for the New York Post.*)*

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AN END TO SERENITY

PETER STEINFELS

RECENTLY I have read several efforts to explain the present state of the American church and how it got that way. None of them considers an extremely important episode, one pointed up by the appearance of Gordon Zahn's article in this issue.

A decade ago, Zahn had completed his study of German Catholics and Hitler's wars, and he was deep in the process of getting his findings published. That was not such an easy matter; pressure from the German church forced one publisher to drop the manuscript. The American Catholic Sociological Society tied itself in knots over the question of publishing a Zahn paper. A delegate arrived in Chicago, bearing the official protest of the German hierarchy to Archbishop Meyer and the president of Loyola University. I happen to know that at the latter institution, where Zahn taught, the student paper was not only supposed to print nothing about Zahn's thesis but nothing about Zahn whatsoever. He was a non-person! The student editors ignored this injunction when Zahn's book was finally published in 1962; and to its credit, so did the university. I recall it only as an indicator of what a long way we've come, (baby).

Two years after publication of *German Catholics and Hitler's Wars*, Rolf Hochhuth's attack on Pius XII reached New York. About that time, too, Guenter Lewy published *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany*. Later came various studies of the Christian roots of anti-Semitism. I believe that the discussion, detonated in large measure by the Zahn, Hochhuth and Lewy works, was a turning point in our consciousness about the church.

Before that discussion, even Catholics extremely critical of the church voiced the belief that the terrors of the 20th century were essentially the offspring of secularism, materialism, etc.—all the "isms" for which the West had strayed from the church—and that against these terrors the church had been a singular stronghold of resistance. In 1954, Christopher Hollis sounded the note in *Encounter*: "the record of religion as the opponent of totalitarianism in the modern world has been far better than the record of any other force." Such a conviction could lead to a certain smugness, and on occasion it did, even in those least given to triumphalism. (*Commonweal* once lectured American pragmatists that Soviet concentration camps were only the logical extension of their philosophy.) But this conviction was also the source of a serenity about the church, which, looking back, it is hard not to envy.

I am not sure exactly how that serenity has survived certain facts. In my own case, it did not survive the image of the German Catholic Center Party voting dictatorial powers to Hitler, while the Socialist deputies, knowing the cause was lost and their lives endangered, voted to a man against the act. But it was the controversy begun over Zahn and Hochhuth which, on a wide scale, finally shattered that serenity. By the time the whole exercise was over, hardly a one of our former proud exhibits before the tribunal of history appeared without taint. The Italian historian Carlo Falconi has pointed out, for instance, the narrow church interests—violation of the Concordat—which limited Pius XI's *Mit Brennender Sorge*. The Jews are mentioned only in a defense of the Old Testament, and then called "the people who were to put Him on the cross."

At the time of the Hochhuth furor, Falconi was quoted by the Pope's defenders, because he sharply disputed the German playwright's caricature of the Pope as cowardly and venal. Yet when Falconi's book, *The Silence of Pius XII*, was published in America last year, it turned out, by reason of its very caution, to be all the more damning. Surprisingly little fuss was made over it, however. By now, our perspective had shifted. However much we believed in the church as a potential point of resistance against the horrors of our age, we no longer enjoyed the security of thinking that it had so far played a privileged role of that sort during the 20th century. That made our belief a little more desperate, and a good deal less serene.

The same controversy also disturbed, if it did not quite shatter, the well-wrought notions of church-state relations which liberal Catholics had worked out and propagated—curiously enough at the very moment when widespread acceptance of these notions seemed to be symbolized by the victory of Kennedy at home and John Courtney Murray in Rome. Having labored mightily to establish the autonomy of the political order, the danger of moralistic postures, especially by the clergy, the compromises required by pluralism, they then had to attend again to questions of civil disobedience, individual witness, specifically religious protest, prophetic vocation, the limits of majority rule, and so on. The questions the Nazi Germany controversy posed at the profoundest theoretical level, the civil rights and anti-war movements were, of course, posing in practice; and nothing has been the same since.

No one who hopes to understand the last decade of turmoil in the American church can ignore the intellectual episode which opened with Gordon Zahn's book.

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THE SCANDAL OF SILENCE

Gordon C. Zahn

"... an apparently deliberate attempt to create ... a false impression that the formal leadership of the church has been a source of consistent, though prudently restrained, opposition to the war."

Barely had the dust from the collapse of Hitler's Third Reich settled when there appeared a flurry of articles and books purporting to document the heroic resistance of Germany's Catholics and their spiritual leaders in what was presented as an unremitting and clear-cut struggle between Cross and Swastika. That there was much heroism was established easily enough. Unfortunately, however, most of these authors were not satisfied with portraying the Catholic resistance in its true dimensions but went on instead to create a myth, selecting some facts for exaggerated emphasis, omitting others altogether, and, where necessary, "improving" the documentation at hand. Later scholarship, needless to say, uncovered and corrected these faults and distortions and succeeded in striking a truer balance between the very real opposition that did take place and the equally real, but underplayed, support that Catholics had given the Nazi regime and many of its policies. That balance was not at all unfavorable to the church, but when these revisionist studies finally appeared they carried inevitable overtones of criticism and "exposé" that operated to discredit the very institution the creators of the myth had set out to honor.

This misguided effort and its boomerang effect comes to mind in reading the memorandum prepared for editors and newswriters by the Office for Information of the U.S. Catholic Conference in response to "a number of inquiries" received by that agency concerning the position the American hierarchy has taken on the war in Indochina and related issues. Since the USCC is the continuing administrative arm of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, this document probably represents if not an "official" at least the "authorized" version of that position. It is safe to assume, too, that more than simple inquiries provided the inspiration for this release. For some time now there has been a steadily mounting chorus of criticism, from within the Catholic community as well as from without, charging the bishops with what amounts to dereliction of duty in failing to provide adequate moral guidance with respect to the nation's involvement in Southeast Asia. As one who has voiced such criticism and who has gone on to suggest (*Worldview*, March 1971) that by their silence the bishops have made themselves and their church accomplices to the crimes being committed over there, I have studied this USCC summary with special interest. On the basis of that study, supplemented by a cursory review of press accounts of the bishops' semi-annual meetings, I must challenge it as an apparently deliberate attempt to create, by means of a highly selective approach to history, a false impression that the formal leadership of the church has been a source of consistent, though prudently restrained, opposition to the war.

In making such a charge, it is fair to begin by proposing as the standard of judgment the bishops' own definition of their appropriate role as one imposing upon them the duty "to help magnify the moral voice of our nation." This opening to their November 1966 statement (not included in the USCC memorandum, though other portions are quoted) would seem to require a far more explicit and continuing record of active moral guidance than the eighteen rather fragmentary references which are provided here as a "background of interest now or as a source of reference at some future time." When one discovers further that only three of these fragments have been drawn from pastoral directives and advice issued

GORDON C. ZAHN, *professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts, and author of several books including* German Catholics and Hitler's Wars, *edited* Thomas Merton on Peace *(McCall's).*

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officially in the name of the combined hierarchy, it is obvious that whatever magnification they can provide will be limited in the extreme. In the five-year period between the earliest and the latest items included in the memorandum there were nine general episcopal conferences, so we may conclude from this that only a third of their meetings provided the occasion for serious consideration of the war's morality. Even if we stretch a point and include the two statements issued under the auspices of the World Justice and Peace Division of the USCC itself and the May 1971 pastoral of the fourteen bishops of the New England region, the record is still not impressive, and any effort to make it appear so borders on outright duplicity.

In terms of content the most forthright of the statements cited in the summary are credited to bishops speaking as individuals or in proclamations of an interfaith nature. Thus we find Cardinal Shehan of Baltimore and five other bishops joining Protestant and Jewish leaders to declare the weekend of April 30 - May 2, 1971, as a time for special prayer and repentance; another item notes that two auxiliary bishops, Gumbleton of Detroit and Kelly of Providence, were listed among the sponsors of the "Set the Date Now" campaign. Including these participants in group efforts, only seventeen bishops are given mention for statements or actions concerning the war, surely a dismally small proportion of a hierarchy that numbers slightly less than 300 members. The summary's covering letter makes the point that it is "an extensive though not exhaustive chronology." Nevertheless, given the purposes of the memorandum, it is reasonable to assume that its compilers have included all items deemed most likely to have received widespread notice or to have significant impact upon Catholic opinion and behavior.

The earliest is the June 1966 "Pastoral Letter on Peace and Patriotism" issued by Cardinal Shehan. Generally conceded to be the first official pronouncement by a prominent Catholic ecclesiastic to give any indication of moral misgivings or reservations regarding the nature and conduct of the war, it commanded widespread attention when it first appeared. Added significance was seen in the fact that its distinguished author had just returned from a visit to Rome, a coincidence that led many to conclude that the Cardinal was in fact voicing concerns put to him by Pope Paul and now being relayed to the American Catholic public at his specific request. Whatever its background, the pastoral presented a restrained and carefully balanced set of reminders of the traditional limits to be observed in warfare that had been reaffirmed most recently by the Second Vatican Council, including as well the Council's cautious endorsement of conscientious objection as a permissible option for the Christian. The Cardinal's warning that unless our hearts "remain steadfastly peace-loving" we may "fail to be responsive to the possibilities of reasonable and honorable negotiations" was not the strongest statement in the pastoral. Its selection for direct quotation in the USCC summary invests it with implications of criticism its author most probably did not intend.

Some evidence to this effect is the Cardinal's explicit repudiation less than two months later of what he described as attempts "to interpret my pastoral as a condemnation of American presence in Vietnam." In a letter to the National Commander of the Catholic War Veterans, the text of which was duly published in the Baltimore diocesan paper, he made his position clear: "Our presence in Vietnam and the reasons which have prompted us to involve ourselves there are honorable. The alternative of withdrawal could well have catastrophic results under the present circumstances." So determined was he to correct the "distortions" he protested that the printed copies of the original pastoral distributed by the Baltimore chancery also include the full text of this subsequent clarification. Neither the disclaimer nor the Cardinal's explicit endorsement of "our presence in Vietnam" are included in the USCC memorandum, an omission deceptive in effect and, one suspects, in intent as well.

The other individual statements cited suffer more from an absence of effective follow-through than from ambiguity. One is impressed by the sense of urgency expressed by the late Cardinal Cushing in his 1967 Christmas plea ("For God's sake we must bring this war to an end."), but he could not be persuaded the following year to lend support to efforts to put the National Conference on record in support of selective conscientious objection. Nor was he ready to provide counseling services in his own archdiocese for Catholic men subject to the draft. Both objectives were achieved through the efforts of others; as far as this much-beloved prelate was concerned, he could not bring himself to encourage young men to refuse to bear arms even in a war they considered immoral.

Of the other bishops quoted, only Auxiliary Bishop Gumbleton, writing in the *New York Times* (July 2, 1971), seems to have drawn the full logical conclusions from his personal convictions that participation in the Indochina war is "gravely immoral." "When Jesus faced His captors," he wrote, "He told Peter to put away his sword. It seems to me He is saying the same thing to the people of the United States in 1971." Others, like Flanagan of Worcester and Dozier of Memphis, come close to openly recommending conscientious objection, the latter going so far as to appear before a local draft board to support a registrant's claim to such classification; but in both instances the recommendations are more implied than expressed. Bishop May of Mobile speaks of a moral obligation to "get out of there as fast as we can" while Bishop Durick is credited with urging his Nashville flock to petition the local government to go on record as favoring an end to U.S. involvement in Vietnam. The latter ef-

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fort assumes special significance as an exercise of episcopal political "clout" that is usually limited to such "special interest" issues as abortion legislation, subsidized contraception, and public assistance for parochial schools.

All of these statements—and those attributed to Bishops Begin (Oakland), Casey (Denver). and Unterkoefler (Charleston) as well—merit respect, and the USCC can be thanked for bringing them wider attention than they received when they were issued. In the broader context of overall episcopal silence, these contributions take on added significance. At the same time, it is appropriate to note that not only are these statements and actions few in number, they are also relatively recent. Except for the original Shehan pastoral and the Cushing reference, all of the individual opinions cited in the memorandum date from June 1970 and later. This *could* reflect nothing more than a certain half-heartedness of effort on the part of the USCC researchers. A more compelling possibility, however, is that statements of the kind sought by the compilers were in extremely short supply earlier in the war.

The admission that the summary is not "exhaustive" aside, it is evident that certain episcopal statements were omitted by design. One need only refer to the absence of the two bishops who were to resign their posts partly as a result of their frustration over the failure of the hierarchy to fulfill the duty it "recognized" in 1966. Prior to his resignation, Bishop James P. Shannon had the distinction of being virtually the only outspoken critic of the war, and it was mainly due to his persistence that the bishops took the stand on conscientious objection that is so proudly cited in the USCC memorandum. Auxiliary Bishop Bernard M. Kelly does a bit better than Shannon. Whereas the latter is ignored altogether, Kelly is mentioned in connection with his sponshorship of the "Set the Date Campaign." Nothing is said, however, of his spirited defense of the Providence priest who antagonized some parishioners by suggesting that parents convinced of the war's injustice should advise their sons to refuse service. Even more surprising, there is no reference to the nationally reported event which found Bishop Kelly taking a prominent part in a Newport protest demonstration in conjunction with a Presidential visit to the area.

The most significant omission without question has to do with what was undoubtedly the single most-publicized episcopal statement on the war, the late Cardinal Spellman's endorsement of the "my country right or wrong" principle. In fact, though one suspects the USCC researchers could have compiled at least as extensive a body of episcopal statements supporting the war from the archives of the New York Archdiocese alone, Cardinal Spellman and his annual Christmas messages to the troops merit no mention at all. Similarly, one looks in vain for the statements made by Archbishop Lucey and others known for their more "hawkish" views and for their generally uncritical support for whatever decisions might be made by the nation's political and military leaders.

"The most singular omission . . . the late Cardinal Spellman's endorsement of the 'my country right or wrong' principle."

The importance of such omissions should not be underestimated. Were some future church historian to come across this document and accept it as representative of the bishops' position regarding the Vietnam war, he could easily be misled into concluding there was little or no overt support for the war effort. Simple honesty should require that a review of "statements made by American Catholic bishops on the Vietnam war" include the Spellman statements and others in that vein, embarrassing though they may seem now that the full measure of that war's immorality is there for all to see.

Obviously what bishops, whether hawks or doves, may say as individuals does not carry the same weight as statements issued in the name of the National Conference. Although, as already noted, the number of such statements is not impressive, the record requires further comment.

The November 1966 meeting, for instance, produced two major episcopal statements with priority clearly given to the first, a strong denunciation of government plans for funding birth control through domestic welfare or foreign aid programs. The second, presented by the bishops as "our plea for peace," was reported in the *New York Times* under a headline proclaiming "Catholic Bishops Back War Policy"—an editorial judgment that seems not to have provoked the least sign of episcopal indignation or protest. The statement was little more than an echo of the pastoral issued by Cardinal Shehan earlier in the year and discussed above. The USCC memorandum, probably mindful of the Pentagon Papers revelations, stresses the bishops' reminder to the faithful of their obligation to insist that facts and issues "be made known to the public so that they can be considered in their moral context." Access to such information, presumably, would make it possible for the informed believer/citizen to make certain that the government would pursue every possibility of a peaceful settlement and to mount effective protest whenever there was danger that the conflict might escalate beyond morally acceptable limits.

The failure of the bishops to take note of the mounting criticism of the military tactics employed by American forces in Vietnam is significant for two reasons. First, and most obvious, the statement does repeat the Vatican Council's condemnation of acts of war directed against entire cities or "extensive areas along with their population"; the relevance to the area-bombings then in prog-

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ress would seem inescapable. But it apparently did "escape" the notice of the National Conference (and, interestingly enough, the authors of the memorandum fail to note the reference to the Vatican Council's condemnation as well). The second, and more critical, point of significance relates to what the USCC describes as the bishops' "tentative judgment that, on balance, the U.S. presence in Vietnam could be justified." The complete text of the statement, as published in the *Times*, does not support that description. The bishops speak in a frankly declarative mode: "While we do not claim to be able to resolve these issues authoritatively, in the light of the facts, as they are known to us, it is reasonable to argue that our presence in Vietnam is justified." Carefully hedged, yes; "tentative," no. And the impact of the conditional clause which precedes that episcopal judgment is greatly reduced in the context of a document devoted to spelling out the moral tests that are to be employed in evaluating the war. The loyal Catholic who looked to his bishops for guidance in forming his private conscience would take it for granted that they applied their own precepts before concluding, as they put it in that same statement, that they could "conscientiously support the position of our country in the present circumstances."

With the moral principles now firmly on the public record, one might expect that the bishops would return to them from time to time to determine whether such conscientious support could continue. The fact is, of course, that they did not. They have contented themselves with verbalizing the appropriate moral generalities but have systematically avoided applying them to actual events and practices. This is the basis for the criticisms that have been directed against them; neither the USCC summary nor the more extensive review of news reports of subsequent episcopal convocations can dispute that unfavorable conclusion.

The April 1967 meeting discussed changes in the liturgy and issued a call for an intensified educational campaign to combat efforts to liberalize laws against abortion. If any consideration was given to the war or its conduct (and by now the indiscriminate nature of our military policies had become an issue of public controversy), it was not included in the news releases. In November the Conference did have something to say, but it was in the nature of applause for the national policy rather than criticism. The bishops praised the Johnson Administration for its "repeated" efforts to negotiate peace with Hanoi despite recurring rebuffs and called for continued patience and renewed efforts. They also invited other nations to "join earnestly in the search" for peace, adding however, "We wish it understood that we are not pleading for peace at any price."

"What was clearly required of the bishops was a set of answers, not an empty repetition of questions newsmen and others with no pretensions to being moral guides had already asked long before."

The implications of this combination of praise for the peace efforts of the government and rejection of stereotyped pacifist extremism are obvious enough. But the USCC summary ignores this evidence of continued loyal support for the nation's war policy and focuses attention upon vague references to "reactions of responsible segments of our society" which the bishops welcome as proof "that the moral sensitivity of the American people has not diminished but . . . intensified" and as "a witness of the ever-deepening yearning of the American people for peace and an increasing horror of the evils of war." Presumably these quotations were chosen to suggest episcopal approval for the emerging forces of dissent and opposition. Taken in context with the more "positive" comments I have cited, any such interpretation is suspect indeed. If the bishops had any such purpose in mind, it would have been a simple enough matter to be as explicit in their approval of the dissent as they were in their generous acclaim for policies that many "responsible segments of our society" were protesting as a hypocritical abuse of the rhetoric of peace to cover actual escalation of the war.

The April 1968 meeting formally endorsed President Johnson's decision to limit the bombing of North Vietnam (which, needless to say, the bishops had never found cause to question or oppose) and urged all the governments involved in the conflict "to undertake negotiations as early as possible in good faith and to work with patience, mutual respect and understanding toward a just peaceful solution." Strangely enough, these actions go unnoticed in the USCC memo, possibly because they were completely overshadowed the following November by the issuance of an extremely important pastoral letter, "Human Life in Our Day." The document is important for the attempt to present a relatively comprehensive review of moral problems associated with the war and, even more so, for its endorsement of the principle of conscientious objection and, most surprising of all, its recommendation that the conscription law be changed to permit men to refuse service in wars they consider unjust or in branches of service which would subject them to the performance of actions contrary to their moral convictions.

Unfortunately, the discussion of the war and related issues constituted the second part of the pastoral and it was the first part, devoted to an extensive review and reaffirmation of the church's position on contraception, which, predictably enough, won most of the attention.

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Since the issuance that July of Pope Paul's much discussed and debated encyclical on the subject, several American dioceses had been the setting for unprecedented challenges to papal and episcopal competence and authority. Still, this was probably not the only reason why the bishops' comments on the war were so generally ignored. The questions they asked (and which are duly noted in the USCC summary) were relevant enough: "Have we already reached, or passed, the point where the principle of proportionality becomes decisive? . . . Has the conflict in Vietnam provoked inhuman dimensions of suffering?" The problem was that, this late in the war, questions of this nature were no longer newsworthy. Villages had been destroyed in order to "save" them; 50-square-mile blankets of napalm and aerial defoliation had rendered vast areas uninhabitable and unproductive; "free-fire zones" were designated within which "anything that moves" became a "legitimate" target—all of these things had become a matter of common knowledge and nightly television viewing. What was clearly required of the bishops was a set of *answers*, not an empty repetition of questions newsmen and others with no pretensions to being moral guides had already asked long before. At the very least, since they were asking questions, they should have asked whether that "tentative" support they had given in 1966 could still be justified in the face of actions and policies that already had exceeded the moral limits they proclaimed.

Even the credit they deserve for the endorsement of conscientious objection, including selective conscientious objection, cannot be taken entirely at face value. As one who had earnestly engaged in lobbying the bishops for this kind of statement, I find it instructive to recall the difficulties encountered by Bishop Shannon and the very few others who succeeded in pushing it through. The authors of the USCC summary may not be familiar with this background struggle; if they were they might be more circumspect in their assertion that the statement "defended those who refuse to fight against the charge of cowardice." This is true enough, of course, but a careful reading of the text will show that it was the bishops themselves who introduced the charge they then so generously rejected. Thus the section dealing with conscientious objection opens with the observation (my emphasis added), "*There is sometimes ground* for question whether the attitudes of some toward military duty do not spring from cowardice . . ." This may be nothing more than a literary device for purposes of rhetorical impact. It is probably more correct to regard it as a concession to powerful elements within the hierarchy who were opposed to any support for conscientious objection whether in principle or in practice.

One other fact makes the 1968 statement important: incredible though it may seem, there has been no further word from the National Conference concerning Vietnam or any related issues. April 1969 took up problems of

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domestic ecclesiastical interest: marriage court reform; clerical celibacy; and the never-to-be-overlooked threat of "liberalized" abortion laws. In November, changes in religious practice held center stage with some attention given as well to demands presented by increasingly disenchanted black Catholics. The peace issue was not entirely absent though. Six young Catholics, also disenchanted, demonstrated before the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception while the bishops were celebrating Mass within and were arrested at the request of Shrine authorities. The incident, according to the *Times* report, contributed to an "increasingly ugly mood in the corridors." After the sessions were concluded, Cardinal Dearden as President of the National Conference held a news conference "in response to criticism by various lay and clerical groups in the corridors." He explained that the bishops "did not feel compelled" to speak about the war in Vietnam because "no new moral issues" had arisen since the earlier statements.

No new moral issues! Leaving aside the obvious point that most of the old moral issues were still largely untouched, one can find others that might have deserved some comment. The Tet offensive early that year ought to have raised some doubts about the "foreign aggression" character of the war so basic to the Johnson Administration's justification of American involvement. Since August, press and television had given extensive coverage to the Green Beret murder charges and the abruptness with which they were subsequently dropped without prosecution. In September, in one of those cases that were coming to public attention with disturbing frequency, a certain Lt. Calley was charged with the killing of an unspecified number of Vietnamese civilians—later reports indicating that this death toll was unusually high. One can only wonder what Cardinal Dearden's reaction was the very day following his unfortunate remark when the full and gory details of the Mylai massacre captured the nation's headlines.

Whatever that immediate reaction may have been, it apparently did not last. When the bishops assembled again the following April there was not the slightest note taken of atrocities and the like. Most attention was devoted to a massive anti-poverty fund project, but the agenda still could find place for yet another resolution about abortion. Passing attention, too, was given to the new problem of priests seeking public office; the bishops voted to discourage this. In November the pattern held

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firm: there was some heated discussion of reactions to a cut in the proposed budget for a National Office for Black Catholics and plans for implementing the anti-poverty collection approved in April.

The absence of the war issue from the agenda could scarcely be attributed to any lack of "new moral issues" for that year. In May the United States and her Vietnamese allies had violated the boundaries of Cambodia and Laos in what President Nixon euphemistically described as a "limited incursion." By November, it is true, American troops had been withdrawn, but American air power was still engaged in the systematic devastation of the two hapless nations that had now been drawn into full-scale war. The International Affairs Office of the USCC had "questioned" the widening of the war, and Bishop Begin of Oakland had issued a call for President Nixon and the North Vietnamese to withdraw from the two countries. Both of these actions are cited in the USCC summary; neither, however, found an echo at the 1970 gathering of the full hierarchy. Also in May the nation had been rocked by the cold-blooded shooting by National Guardsmen of the four Kent State students, an event which led to the unprecedented shutting down of colleges and universities (including many Catholic colleges and universities!) in a spontaneous wave of protest and indignation. The bishops had nothing to say.

A Backward Step

Nothing to say for the record, that is. In actuality this November meeting found them taking a backward step. That October the World Justice and Peace Division of the USCC had issued a strong policy statement building upon the support given conscientious objection two years before. The new statement proposed to implement those earlier recommendations and appealed for amnesty for the many young men who had been obliged to violate the law, emigrate, or desert the armed forces to be true to their consciences. When the expanded policy was presented to the National Conference for adoption, it was returned for further study and revision. A revision prepared for the April 1971 meeting did not receive that much consideration. The agenda was too crowded.

News reports of that meeting centered upon extended and heated controversy over the scholarly merits of a study of the priesthood and attitudes toward clerical celibacy. These are legitimate concerns of the hierarchy, of course, but when they so dominate the bishops' attention that they cannot find time to condemn a Mylai or to address themselves to other aspects of the war, they should not be surprised when questions and criticisms continue to come their way. The timing of the pastoral of the fourteen New England bishops, whether so intended or not, constitutes something of a rebuke. Issued almost immediately upon their return from the April meeting, this initiative left much to be desired; but it reflected an honest effort to provide some measure of direct moral guidance, a step which the National Conference was obviously unwilling to take.

It would be too much to say that the American bishops have duplicated the failure of their German counterparts under Hitler if only in that they deserve credit for not being as fervent in their support for the nation's war effort. On the other hand, they have been just as intent upon avoiding confrontation with the secular power. That "tentative" expression of conscientious support stands as the only official judgment they have made concerning the war, and the Catholic looking to his bishops for moral guidance must be satisfied with that. That consciences may be led astray by the example they have set seems not to concern them at all. While great numbers of the men placed in their spiritual charge are dying (and, far more tragic from a Christian standpoint, *killing*) in a war of dubious morality, they are silent.

If the USCC memorandum were nothing more than a public relations effort to make something out of nothing, or much out of little, the deception would be bad enough; but it represents something far more serious. It is an exercise in self-deception, the cruelest deception of all. Cardinal Dearden is undoubtedly sincere when he insists that the bishops have made their position clear regarding Vietnam and that repeating it over and over can serve little purpose. Unless he means that the National Conference intends to continue standing behind the war effort —in which case the thrust of the USCC summary would be misdirected—his satisfaction reveals an inability to comprehend the extent to which the bishops have failed to address themselves to their most urgent moral responsibility.

The harshness of this judgment enhances rather than diminishes the credit and gratitude due the Shannons and the Kellys, the Gumbletons and the others (some of whom, like Bishops Buswell and Dougherty, are not cited by the USCC) who have acted as individuals to fill the gap between easily verbalized general principles and possibly inconvenient applications. The New England bishops are to be commended for their more "official" attempt to provide the moral leadership that is needed. It was, unfortunately, a flawed attempt. After specifying such strategies and tactics as "harassment and interdiction fire," "search and destroy," and the "use of massive conventional air power pursued in conjuction with the declaration of 'free fire zones' " as the reported causes of "injury and death to many thousands of innocent victims and untold sufferings to millions of refugees," the statement reaffirmed the principle of civilian immunity and declared such actions deserving of "the severest moral censure." Were it not for the conditional introduction ("If these policies have in fact caused the civilian deaths reported . . ."), this pastoral could stand as a model for the National Conference. As it is, what gave the game away was the note of contingency and the suggestion that

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there might be reasonable doubt concerning events and effects that were a matter of eyewitness testimony and, following the Mylai courts-martial, documented public record.

The church has given witness, of course, but it has come from a different source, from the priests, nuns and lay people who rejected the pattern of silent complicity and, often enough, risked ecclesiastical disapproval as well as civil penalty for their efforts. There is a parallel here to the German experience. Then the authentic witness was given, not in the annual Fulda pastorals, but by hundreds of priests in Dachau (the "martyrs to their own stupidity" as one bishop reportedly characterized them) and by the Delps, the Metzgers, and the Jägerstätters who paid with their lives. When we look back in years to come, the witness of the American church in our tragic present will not be found in a few hastily assembled fragments from extremely cautious episcopal statements but, rather, in the actions of individuals—the housewife who braves the scorn of her pastor and fellow parishioners to circulate a peace petition at the church door; the young man who becomes a conscientious objector without benefit of pastoral instruction or support (or, maybe, ends up in prison because he lacked such assistance when it was needed); demonstrators protesting episcopal silence; yes, even the Berrigans and their fellow "criminals" of conscience. If at times these protests have taken on too aggressive a tone or have gone to extremes, part of the blame lies with those responsible for the atmosphere of frustration which forced the protestors to those extremes.

Active opposition to the war has been limited to a minority, though a steadily growing minority, in a religious community long noted for its record of 200 percent patriotism in wartime. This undoubtedly accounts for much of the hierarchy's unwillingness to take an explicit stand, at least one which would "disturb consciences" and possibly alienate many of the Catholic faithful. What is generally overlooked is that this has already happened: large numbers of young people have already been lost to the church, convinced that institutionalized Christianity has failed and has nothing of importance to say about the most urgent problems they must face. Youth has always been a time of spiritual testing and doubt, of course, but this is no ordinary "leakage." It is the price the church is paying for the scandal of silence, and it should call to mind the warnings in Scripture concerning millstones and the like. Now that this disaffection has spread into seminaries and convents, into the ordained priesthood, and now even into the ranks of the hierarchy itself, it should be clear to all that the war and its related issues must finally be given precedence over those familiar problems of celibacy, contraception and abortion which have so monopolized the bishops' attention.

To end on a more positive note, the USCC memorandum may be welcomed as a sign that questions and criticisms are no longer being ignored. What is needed now

"The church has given witness, of course, but it has come from a different source, from the priests, nuns and lay people who rejected the pattern of silent complicity. . . ."

is a review that is "exhaustive," one that will bring together all the episcopal statements that have been made concerning the war covering the full range from Shannon to Spellman with each in its due proportion. Editorials in the diocesan press should be included too since these serve as an instrument of instruction and direction ultimately answerable to episcopal authority. Even though such a study might prove to be a source of embarrassment, its long-range benefits would more than justify that cost. Not only would the knowledge thus assembled make it possible to understand what went wrong and why, it would also provide the opportunity for the entire religious community to evaluate and, if necessary, improve the decision-making structures and processes of the institutional church. If the challenge is ignored and the opportunity missed, there is every likelihood that future crises will find the church as ill-prepared to speak the prophetic word as it was in Nazi Germany and has again shown itself to be with respect to the American war in Indochina.

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JAMES HEARST

THE FARMER'S BRIDE

Dry weeds wait for snow,
trees creak, the road's skin
turns gray, a pale sun throws
pale shadows, cold air wraps the day.
I see a bundled man in work clothes
walk across the yard, head bowed
to mark icy spots where a man
might fall, his mittened hands
hang like boards. The dog leaps
to lick his face, cats arch and
weave between his legs, the cows
moo softly at his approach, even
sparrows follow behind his back.
He does the chores before dark,
and locks the barn doors, warm in a
faith he shoulders with all he owns
that a spring sun will sometime
break the winter's back, I stand
and wait where a wound of light
bleeds through the window.

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NIXON'S POWER PLAY

We may be witnessing a Vietnam of international finance

RICHARD B. DU BOFF

Under growing pressure through the summer of 1971 from a rapidly rising balance of payments deficit, President Nixon had to act. And act he did, on August 15—not in a spirit of international cooperation and conciliation but in a truculent, assertively nationalist manner.

The President closed down the gold window at Fort Knox, thereby allowing the dollar to "float"—downward—against strong currencies, chiefly the Japanese yen and German mark. He slapped a "temporary" 10 percent surtax on dutiable imports, in one fell swoop wiping out all the trade concessions so laboriously negotiated since 1962 under the "Kennedy Round." He declared that none of his measures would be rescinded until other nations took the lead in erecting a new international financial structure, one that does not "discriminate" against U.S. goods through "unfair" exchange rates, one that permits us to stop "competing with one hand tied behind our back."

Yet, as report after report has since made clear, the United States is reluctant to spell out the conditions for the repeal of the 10 percent surcharge on imports until (to quote Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs Nathaniel Samuels) "measures are taken that are so clearly adequate that there is no question about a lasting improvement in our situation." Other nations, that is, must solve our balance of payments deficits for us, while we will be the judge of what is "adequate."

"The United States," according to the *New York Times*' chief economic correspondent [Aug. 20], "hopes to restore soon the convertibility of the dollar and end its 'floating' status against other currencies, but only when this Government is satisfied that other countries have taken the painful actions needed to restore the United States financial position in the world."

What we expect by way of "painful actions" has now been made explicit—if only in a quantitative sense—by Treasury Undersecretary Paul Volcker in Paris on September 3 and by Treasury Secretary John Connally in London twelve days later. Both men addressed meetings of the "group of ten" leading industrial capitalist nations. The United States, it now turns out, is demanding a $13 billion "turnabout" in its balance of payments, most (if not all) of it to come from improvement in *trade* account. This means that our trading partners must prepare—must take the necessary steps—to help us reconstitute an enormous margin of merchandise exports over imports. They must help us roll back the clock to the 1950s and early 1960s when we enjoyed an unnaturally large export surplus.

I say "unnaturally large," because in retrospect it can be seen that the U.S. merchandise export surpluses of $5 to $8 billion during that period could not be maintained indefinitely, since they were largely a function of the productivity and technology advantages we held as an immediate result of World War II. With European and Japanese economic recovery and technological progress in industries in which they could be expected to "specialize" ("free trade," remember), such surpluses would have to be whittled down. And they were, and should be, if "free trade" is to be taken at face value. For there is nothing wrong or shameful with a zero balance on merchandise trade (an equality of exports and imports), nor with a modest trade surplus *or* deficit offset by other items from one year to the next (dividends, interest, profits, "invisible" service fees, tourism, capital flows). Why, then, do we now insist on such a towering trade surplus? And why is Nixon risking so much to attain it?

The answer is that an extraordinarily large surplus of exports over imports would allow us to continue two foreign *deficit* activities which have been the major sources of our chronic balance of payments deficits and which our corporations, banks, State and Defense Departments have no intention of giving up: foreign investing and military spending. Big trade surpluses would counterbalance the outflow of dollars stemming from overseas investment and military expenditure, and it is highly significant that neither of these two areas has been called upon to share in the ennobling "sacrifices" Nixon has offered the rest of us. For these are the two activities in which the President and his political constituency intend to maintain a free hand.

Hence the power play designed to reduce imports and increase exports sufficiently to cover war, military "posture," and corporate business expansion abroad. Here is why a modest trade surplus or deficit isn't good enough for us—for most countries yes, but not for the

RICHARD B. DUBOFF *teaches in the Department of Economics at Bryn Mawr College.*

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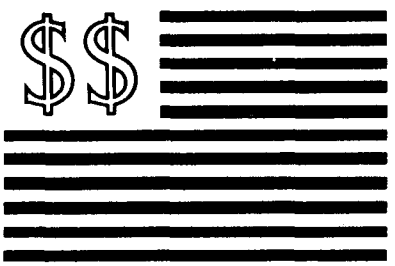
"number one" international power whose multinational corporations and military establishment must have unrestricted *Lebensraum*.

But a balance of payments turnabout of such staggering proportions—$13 billion—would wreak havoc in international commerce. Just as we had been exporting inflation with our huge balance of payments deficits, we are now, in a very real sense, attempting to export unemployment. Large and very rapid increases in U.S. exports would mean that other countries would see their own trade balances deteriorate by corresponding amounts. Understandably, the Europeans and Japanese were "stunned by the alleged dimensions of the future American payments gap [we insist] they alone must close," in the words of one reporter covering Volcker's September 3 talk in Paris. And so far the United States "is not going to change its position one iota," as French Finance Minister Giscard d'Estaing paraphrased Secretary Connally's September 15 pronouncements in London. The Nixon Administration admittedly "is asking for a lot": foreign countries must revalue their currencies



and make them more expensive in terms of the dollar, they must sharply reduce trade barriers against American goods (without any assurance of reciprocity on our part), and they must bear more of the "defense burden of the free world"—enough in total to produce a $13 billion improvement in the U.S. balance of payments.

Can the Japanese and Europeans do anything about it? Do they want to?

Obviously, Nixon is counting on several factors to help him pull off his economic aggression (a word that "understates what European financial men feel" about his tactics, according to the *New York Times'* Anthony Lewis in London). One factor is the political disunity of Western Europe, its inability to overcome internal bickering long enough to speak with one voice to Washington. Another is the psychological difficulty the West Germans have in opposing Uncle Sam, who helped them get back on their feet after World War II. (An additional lever for use against Bonn is the presence of 250,000 U.S. troops within its borders. Washington has resorted to this kind of blackmail before—threatening to pull out troops if the mark was not revalued upward.) Still another factor Nixon looks to is the notable propensity of British postwar governments, Labor and Tory alike, to cave in to U.S. diplomatic pressure; this has long been a constant of American policymaking. A final one is that "trade is more important to them than to us—they have more to lose." Only five percent of our own national output is involved in international trade, compared with some 20 to 50 percent for France, Britain, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland.

However, we may be witnessing one more chapter in what D. W. Brogan has called the "illusion of American omnipotence." As the *Times'* Lewis (among others, including a growing number of worried U.S. business executives) has pointed out, "There remains a lingering feeling that Mr. Nixon's words and manners reflect an assumption of American economic hegemony that is no longer valid."

In fact, the European Common Market commissioners have bluntly warned the United States that it cannot hope to solve its balance of payments problems simply by running a mounting surplus on trade with the rest of the world, and that it must instead take action to stop the long-term drain caused by U.S. corporate investment abroad and military expenditures in some 40-odd countries, particularly Vietnam. The "group of ten" finance ministers has gone further. For the first time they have presented the United States with some semblance of a unified political-monetary front. They are asking that this country formally devalue the dollar (rather than force them to revalue upward, which places some of them at a trade disadvantage *vis-à-vis each other*, as well in relation to the United States). They want the 10 percent import surtax to be phased out *as* progress is made toward a new monetary system, not *after* such a "package" is fully worked out, as Nixon is currently insisting. Even the British have joined the chorus in favor of new monetary arrangements "no longer based on a single currency," but resting instead on a truly supra-national, neutral form of international reserves that could be flexibly expanded and contracted with the needs of trade and aid rather than with the vagaries of one nation's balance of payments. "Paper gold," special drawing rights, or some other credit instrument would replace the dollar, originally established as the "key currency" for world trade by the Bretton Woods Agreements of 1944.

In all, we may be witnessing a Vietnam of international finance in the making, with "well meaning" men swiftly losing control over events and ushering in trade warfare, spreading currency controls and restrictions, and neomercantilist economic policies not unlike those that ripped the capitalist world apart in the 1930's. Once again the world has been confronted by that old standby of U.S. foreign policy, the unilateral act, the *fait accompli*. Once again this has been carried out on the assumption (to quote W. W. Rostow of *Pentagon Papers* fame) "that at this stage of history we are the greatest power in the world—if we behave like it." And once again we seem to be proceeding on the basis of what could be a disastrous underestimation of the resistance capabilities of our adversaries. We may be in for a long winter.

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THE SCREEN

FROM BAD TO WEST

What with the New York Film Festival's swinging into action during the first two weeks of October, reviewers will be running like mad to previews and have no time for writing. So I'm doing a rundown this week of a few films that turned up during the summer and are still on our screens. Why they're still around I'm not sure. None of them is anything you'll be heartbroken about if you miss.

Richard Benjamin plays the lead in *The Marriage of a Young Stockbroker*, a fellow who's so busy looking at girls, preferably unclothed girls, that he doesn't have much time or energy to sell stock. The strangest part of this strange plot in a film that's supposed to be a comedy is that Richard Benjamin's wife (played by the lovely Joanna Shimkus) is so attractive that you wonder why Richard even looks at any other woman—clothed or unclothed. His sister-in-law (Elizabeth Ashley) is a mean shrew who has already driven her husband (Adam West, the Batman from TV) into a henpecked pulp, but Benjamin is a big boy now and should tell his sister-in-law to jump in the lake. Benjamin's wife, fed up on his voyeurism, walks out on him; and the last part of the picture is concerned with his trying to win her back. On the whole, this movie is quite silly. And while I don't agree with the TV wisecracker who said that Richard Benjamin is becoming one of the biggest layer of eggs since Chicken Little, I must admit his recent films do have a dull pointlessness. No doubt producer-director Lawrence Turman is greatly responsible for this *Stockbroker* mess. But since Benjamin is now making *Portnoy's Complaint,* I'm already worrying about what he'll do with that sexy complainer.

Debunking western heroes of the old days is no doubt a legitimate theme for cinema; but in *Doc,* it is hard to tell if producer-director Frank Perry is making fun of the real Doc Holliday and Wyatt Earp or making fun of his own movie about them. *Doc* is a curious mixture of old and new—like trying to update a period piece that should only be told within its period. At times Stacy Keach and Faye Dunaway are quite amusing as Holliday and Katie Elder, but the attempts at humor and spoofing disappear entirely in the big shoot-'em-up scene in the climax that ends with bodies (not theirs) all over the ground. I'm not sure what Perry had in mind in making this picture, but whatever it was, *Doc* is *not* a good western or satire or movie.

The Hired Hand also makes a stab at debunking western heroes. It is Peter Fonda's first directorial effort—and as such it is rather interesting. Although Fonda gets arty at times, his picture is handsome, quite simple and almost old-fashioned. Fonda and that fine actor, Warren Oates, portray cowboys who wander around the country taking jobs at various ranches. One day they wander onto the ranch where Fonda had left his wife some seven years ago. Needless to say, she gives her husband a cool reception, but she does hire him and Oates as farm hands. What happens gets rather out-of-hand in melodramatics. But Verna Bloom gives such a winning performance as the wife that one is attracted to the picture. Its photography is beautiful and the picture has a fine feel for place and farm life. As a director, Peter Fonda has made a good start; and it is to be hoped he'll continue this line.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

QUICK CUTS

Last summer I devoted a whole issue of this column to Richard Fleischer's *10 Rillington Place*. But looking back it occurs to me I have made something of an overcommitment there. Certainly Fleischer's earlier work—from *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea* to *Fantastic Voyage* (or 20,000 Leagues under the Peritoneal Cavity)—doesn't rate a second glance. One reason it doesn't is that Fleischer has seemed not to care what material he directed. The two films on either side of *Fantastic Voyage*, for instance, were *Barabbas* and *Dr. Doolittle*. Where that hop, skip and jump were supposed to lead I can't imagine.

In 1968, however, Fleischer settled down to the subject in which he has apparently found himself: the murder of helpless women. Only one of the four films he's made since then has not dealt with such murders. In his latest film, *See No Evil*, the woman is Sarah (Mia Farrow) who has been blinded in a riding accident and is recuperating at her uncle's country estate. While she is on an outing with her boyfriend one day, the uncle and his family are killed. After she returns alone and finds everyone dead—something that takes quite awhile—the killer also returns to do her in. I'd tell you the rest, but by this time there's nothing left to tell. Fleischer has exhausted his ingenuity and fallen back on the same old forms of murder and mayhem we're used to seeing everyday.

Yet for a moment there he almost justified all the attention I've lavished on him. The interim between the time Sarah first arrives home and the time she discovers the bodies transcends the rest of the film. The house is a mass of booby traps: bodies propped up all over the place, a crucial clue left in the hall and a bottle shattered on the kitchen floor. But Sarah manages to wander through these hazards obliviously for over twelve hours. Prolonged this way the tension and suspense keep turn-

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ing into a delightful shaggy dog story, the sort that Hitchcock used to tell so expertly.

Throughout these scenes Fleischer's camera slithers and crawls in front of Sarah's movements, incidentally revealing the bodies and other evidence to us as it stays xed on her. This snake's-eye view is contrived enough to get laughs and yet—because we've seen the murderer only from his boot tops down—appropriately menacing as well. But at the same time the size 11-D metonymy is too much of a gimmick for the film's own good. Unlike the predator played by the whole Alan Arkin in *Wait Until Dark*, a similar plot done a few years ago, a pair of boots soon becomes a rather monotonous villain. In fact, since Audrey Hepburn turned out not to be so helpless as Miss Farrow is, *Wait Until Dark* was a better film altogether.

Bryan Forbes has had a relapse. His first widely noticed film was The *L-Shaped Room*, made in 1962. It was considered very advanced because it dealt with abortion, lesbianism and the like, and it had a speaking part for a black man. In truth it was so soppy that Leslie Caron, who played the lead, needed to make no visible transition from *Lili, Gigi* or any of the other eee-eee parts she had been playing. But between 1965 and 1967 Forbes made three films—*King Rat, The Wrong Box* and *The Whisperers*—that showed him to be both tough-minded and versatile. Now he has made *Long Ago, Tomorrow*, a film reminiscent of *The L-Shaped Room* the way senility is reminiscent of childhood.

Instead of being pregnant like Miss Caron, this girl (Nanette Newman) is paralyzed from the waist down, as is her boyfriend (Malcolm McDowell). Paralysis is what brings them together. They also prove to be courageous, proud, indomitable and all the other Victorian virtues that survive today only in movies about cripples. In addition to getting his players to overact their overwritten parts—Miss Newman's real affliction is a nasty tick around her mouth and chin when she's trying to register emotion—Forbes lards his editing with shots of mordant nature, or verdant nature, depending on what he wants to set us up for in the next scene.

Taking his cue from the best seller, *The Raging Moon*, on which his film is based, Forbes eventually decides he's had enough of this sentimentalism. It's a decision clearly influenced by an aversion to the growing sexual interest these paralytics are taking in each other: to avoid further embarrassment the film kills off its heroine in the end. A press release I saw insisted that any relation to *Love Story* was purely coincidental, or even non-existent. Sure, you bet.

The pun in the title of *Desperate Characters* moves in three different directions, one quite unintentional. First, desperate characters are desperadoes—muggers, rapists, thieves, gunmen, etc. This is a film about New York, and it keeps us aware of what a forbidding place New York has become. But this aspect of the film is just to string us along, to keep us awake, for nothing ever happens to Sophie (Shirley MacLaine) or Otto (Kenneth Mars), the central characters. Otto, who is a conservative lawyer, spends much of the opening scene making racist remarks and scoffing at his liberal partner. Oh boy, oh boy, we think: is he going to get his. But no, as it turns out, he isn't. The closest he comes to victimization is to have his summer house trashed by vandals.

The only other direct-action tactic is initiated by an alley cat who bites the hand that feeds it, which happens to be Sophie's hand. Since Sophie's fear of tetanus and rabies conflicts with her squeamishness about having the cat caught or killed, the cat becomes a stand-in for all human desperate characters who never do get to attack her. The low-key drama that this substitute desperado generates is what is needed here because the real desperate characters are supposed to be Otto and Sophie themselves. At one point Otto even quotes Thoreau's remark about people who "lead lives of quiet desperation." In this movie someone is always saying something about himself in that spirit, which brings me to the third sense of desperate characters: the theatrical sense.

The desperation isn't so quiet in this film, for director-writer Frank Gilroy and novelist Paula Fox have given everyone turgid, eloquent and stagey bon mots to say about themselves. In a superficial way this film might look comparable to Bergman's *The Touch*. Gilroy also uses lots of close-ups, though he does so in an indiscriminate, stultifying way. (You begin to wonder whether the dazed look on the actors' faces isn't a result of having been clouted repeatedly by the zoom lens.) And like Gilroy's Bergman's characters are talkative. But Bergman's characters never have the wherewithal to disarm feeling with talk. Their words remain on a human scale with their actors. Although Gilroy's characters live inept and unhappy lives, they have the gift of tongues. They speak in aphorisms that are, though glib, far beyond their other powers. This makes them desperately bad characters.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

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SISTER ELEANOR FITZGIBBONS

INFERNO '7-

is not difficult to find, sir;
in season or out,
follow the screams of smog
hustling you to ghettos
of silence,
where lost sea-gulls rise from subways
to oil slick mountains of dead
autos.

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BOOKS

The state of life in China, Africa and alienated America

Science and Civilization in China, Vol. 4, Part 3

JOSEPH NEEDHAM WITH THE COLLABORATION OF WING LING AND LU GWEI-DJEN

Cambridge University Press, $55

KENNETH REXROTH

The new volume of Joseph Needham's great work is out, Part III of Volume Four, 931 pages, Civil Engineering and Nautics. Still to come in Volume Four are Military Technology, Textile Technology and Paper and Printing, at least another book. Then will come Volume Five, Chemistry and Industrial Chemistry; Volume Six, Biology, Agriculture and Medicine; Volume Seven, The Social Background. How many actual books this will take is anybody's guess. The work has already covered Volume One, Introductory Orientations; Volume Two, The History of Chinese Philosophy and Scientific Thought; Volume Three Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth, and two previous books of Volume Four, Physics, Engineering and Technology. I give this list so that you can form some idea of the scope of the work. It is total. The only critical terms that can apply to it are those used to promote the vast extravaganzas of the moving pictures. No history of science—Sarton, Sigerist, Thorndyke—can be compared to it. As it rolls along it is beginning to take on the character of a geological event, yet it never ceases to be interesting, eminently readable by any educated person, however little he may know or care about the subject. In the days when history has ceased to be one of the Muses, but has become the province of value-neuter committees, Needham goes along writing history as literature—seemingly unaware that it is out of fashion. It is already bigger than Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, it promises to be bigger than any of the many volumed, committee-written Cambridge Histories, yet it shares with the one a handsome prose style, not orotund, as Gibbon, but plain, as the age demands, and with the other a vast marshaling of facts. Everybody to his taste, but I for one find Needham as absorbing reading as R. Austin Freeman's Dr. Thorndyke detective stories and look forward to each new volume as I do to those of Georges Simenon. The two introductory volumes, before Needham gets into the history of science as such, are respectively the best introductions to Chinese history and culture and Chinese philosophy that I know. The only history of mathematics to compare with the third voume is Thomas *Heath's* great *History of Greek Mathematics,* another book written by a man who still believed that history was one of the arts. As for the technological volumes, if Needham can make the details of shipbuilding as interesting as he does, what will the sections on Chinese alchemy and medicine, subjects intensely interesting in themselves, be like?

Needham himself is as interesting as his work. He is living disproof of the notion that the age of synthesizers, polymaths, generalists, "Renaissance men," is over, and that now to be anybody you have to become a specialist. Most of our contemporary would-be Leonardo da Vincis solve their problem, like Marcel Duchamp, by essentially doing nothing but talking vastly about it. Early on Needham seems to have discovered that specialties weren't all that hard to master. He is a biochemist, an embryologist with the special specialty of chemical embryology, the author of the definitive *History of Embryology*, and something of a philosopher and theologian. In addition he has always been socially engaged, founder of the scientific section of UNESCO, an active socialist and now Master of his College, Caius, at Cambridge. One of the unifying factors of his history is a humane and enlightened Marxism so unobtrusive and purged of jargon that you have to be a thoroughly learned Marxist to recognize it. I like to think of him as a lineal descendant of William Dell, Master of Caius College in Cromwell's day, who today would be called a Christian socialist and humanist with revolutionary ideas about education and the relations of science, religion and society.

There are sensational things in this new book most extraordinary to those who didn't know about them—the commercial power of China in the Indian Ocean littoral from at least the 12th century, the archaeological evidence for extensive trade with the East Coast of Africa, all of Indonesia, Southern Asia and the probable discoveries of Australia and America. The ships that carried this traffic were, at the largest, larger than any until recent times. A rudder has been discovered which must have steered a ship at least 400 feet long. There are records of Chinese vessels turning the Cape of Good Hope and penetrating the Atlantic before Vasco da Gama.

What is most interesting though, in the long run, is page after page of detailed narrative of Chinese scientists and artisans working with nature rather than against her. At the inauguration of the Five Year Plans Stalin said "We have declared war on nature on a thousand fronts!"—the perfect expression of the ideology of the industrial, capitalist epoch from which we are now struggling at peril of our lives to emerge. As Needham points out in his first two volumes, the Western notion of an absolutely self-sufficient Creator and an utterly contingent creation subject to a Lawgiver of a different

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kind of being is totally foreign to the Chinese. Reality is one. It does not have laws handed out on Sinai but laws like those that govern the infinitely subtle relationships of the chemistry of life—and so likewise man himself. Chinese science discovers nature by cooperating with her, unveils her like a bride. The Chinese artisan or mechanic cooperates with his tools like a father working with his children. As St. Francis spoke of Brother Ass and Brother Fire, the Chinese could speak of Brother Mill or Sister Ship. Today as it has become apparent that we are destroying ourselves with our attitude towards science and technology and see all about us the lethal results of our Industrial Age, we can readily see, reading Needham, the answer to the question, "Why did China, with, at the end of our Miiddle Ages, a more highly developed technology than any in the West, not move on into the Industrial Age?" It never occurred to the Chinese to attack nature as an enemy or exploit her as a slave. The whole set of the culture made such an attitude inconceivable.

A friend once said to me, "You know, whatever they write about—love poetry, mystical poetry, political poetry, practically all Chinese poetry is nature poetry." It's true. "Wind and rain lash the leaves of the banana. Wild geese cry southbound high above the storm. A girl mourns for her lover far away on the Northern Frontier." "Cold fog settles on the lonely moor. Phosphorescent bones glow in the dark through the heath. The kings on both sides are long dead and no one remembers the purpose of the battle." The problems of history and the emotions of men arise out of the dense flow of nature of which they are only a momentary part, and the divine is knowable only as nature transfigured, as in the *Li Sao* and the shaman poems of the South. Needham's history rolling on like the Yangtse says the same thing. I think it of great significance that the Chinese is the only major civilization of the past which is still living, and it is living because it is the only one which did not exhaust its environment.

It is doubtful if books influence the course of history very much—Western civilization would have been just as bloodthirsty, no more, no less, without the Gospels. It's a great pity because there are profound lessons to be learned from Needham's history—a philosophy of life and ways of living. But it's probably too late for Western man to learn, even if those lessons were written on scrolls unrolled by angels in the fiery heavens. Certainly the people who need to be taught are unlikely to read a work which will probably run to fifteen massive volumes and take another ten years to finish. Still, it's a great comfort. It's not always that you gain wisdom from reading 900 pages about how a strange people put together roofs and bridges, paved roads, dug canals, made rudders and windlasses and sails and charted the immense spaces of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. It has been said of Gibbon's history that it is the finest flower and greatest work of art of the 18th-century Enlightenment. Perhaps the future will say that Needham's history stands to show that our civilization at its best could see beyond itself and could encompass values which were foreign to its dominant spirit. If only there were more people like this, thousands of them, millions.

Diana: The Making of A Terrorist

THOMAS POWERS

Houghton, Mifflin, $5.95

Weatherman

HAROLD JACOBS, EDIT.

Ramparts Press, $3.45

GEORGE ABBOTT WHITE

Remember Weatherman? It was last year's word, not like ping-pong diplomacy and Pentagon Papers. But for many it conveyed a decade of student movement history in a painful series of flashes: running in the streets, hedonistic orgies, Red and White terror, white revolutionary youth proclaiming solidarity with Black Panthers and the Third World, a smoking New York City townhouse.

In our time, we seem to understand more by personal example, but Thomas Powers' prize-winning story of a once-gentle and concerned woman who died in that townhouse seems strangely distant, forced, moralistic, although fascinating. As a political document, the more important book edited by Harold Jacobs, a collection of essays, communiqués, critiques, fliers and songs, by and about Weatherman, is congruent with

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that Movement: confused, wildly contradictory, sometimes banal, often utterly bewildered and bewildering in its search to be good, just and correct. The prose alternates between Talmudic Marxism and the ecstatic lyricism and wit of Bob Dylan, the visuals between child-like graphics and stark photographs of beatings by police. Very well. Much can be learned.

Recall, for a moment, SDS's bright promise. Child of the moribund, vaguely socialistic League for Industrial Democracy, it moved beyond the literary-anarchistic founding speech of Dwight Maconald (June 1960), past Port Huron (Michigan) and the *Statement* echoing "Pacem in Terris" is key passages, announcing "participatory democracy" as both means and end (1962), past Kennedy Style and counter-insurgency liberalism (1963), into the black and poor white ghettos of the North (with the Economic Research and Action Project—ERAP—1964), to an attack upon institutional racism in the form of a sit-in against the Chase Manhattan Bank (March 1965) and upon the War in Vietnam by a Washington rally of 20,000 (April 1965). Over that summer, what was a large cluster of friends, primarily from the East and Midwest, schooled on Goodman, Marcuse, W. A. Williams, and, mainly, C. Wright Mills, exploded into a white middle-class movement of thousands for social change, the Northern correlative of SNCC. Shrewd in analysis, loose in organization, fresh in language, SDS commanded respect and radiated success.

The complex reasons for factionalization and SDS's decline really elude Thomas Powers ("The Movement died because revolutionaries killed it . . ."), even though his colorless prose captures the broad outlines in tracing Diana's life: earnest liberal reform going down in ten-pin fashion; people running into Establishment walls and coming away angry. Marginally sympathetic and intuiting the contours of the Problem, Powers only demonstrates his distance by dating the Movement from *his* entry—Columbia 1968. (No peace vigils, no Mississippi, no Berkeley, no Black Power, no Newark, Detroit, no Pentagon.) The only way of understanding Weatherman lies in recognizing that history also had its internal dynamic, at once ideological and organizational, and it began much earlier than Morningside Heights 1968.

Shuttling back and forth between Harold Jacob's Chronology and his useful Introductions to the book's sections, one sees half the story in the rise of a disciplined faction: the Progressive Labor Party. In dissolving the fledgling May Second Movement in 1966 and moving into SDS to recruit, PLP brought a stern anti-imperialist critique that promised to integrate the separate analyses of peace, civil rights, racism and, finally, the War. Carl Oglesby's brilliant essay (unfortunately truncated) makes clear that the problem was initially one of a movement turning revolutionary and discovering a Marxist-Leninist heritage.

But it was scarcely as if PL held a Rosetta stone. PL's use of Marxism-Leninism was more an ideological club to stun people into line. Oglesby understood the danger:

> Someone else may argue that PL's Marxism-Leninism is a bad Marxism-Leninism, and that is a view which can doubtless be defended. But I see no prosperity in the approach that merely wants to save Leninism from Milt Rosen here and Jared Israel there. The problem is deeper and the task much more demanding . . . I see nothing promising in *any* version of Marxism-Leninism . . .

The organizational implications of this, of what Chomsky has called "Right-Wing Bolshevism," were, of course, enormous. In practice it meant rigid hierarchy, secret centralism, manipulative self-appointed vanguards prodding everyone forward in some misshapen notion of 1917 and 1949, splintering SDS and forcing it to become more Marxist-Leninist than PL in order to fight PL.

In spite of the multiple crises the war provoked (". . . the can opener, and my head the can," as Oglesby has said elsewhere), the other half of the story is that the stage had *always* been set—in the Movement in general and SDS in particular—if not in Marxist terms then in the technical-liberal sense of disaffected middle-class experts and eloquent "heroes" whose elitism betrayed the spirit if not the letter of participatory democracy. SDS rejected anti-war leadership in 1965 and the Resistance in 1966-1967 for many reasons, but in part because its national leadership was committed to local insurgencies (which would become strong enough to deal with foreign policy problems from below). And this had its origin in both an analysis and form that foreshadowed Weatherman: ERAP.

Six years earlier, ERAP emerged as a faction out of organizational and ideological frustration. Like Weatherman, it was built on a thoroughly apocalyptic social analysis. ERAP: massive economic crisis was on the horizon. Weatherman: "the Empire is crumbling from attacks by the Third World and the Black Colony." ERAP: thousands would be thrown into the streets by automation and depression. Weatherman: "greasers and revolutionary white youth are risin' up angry." ERAP: these disaffected would be organized by local groups. Weatherman: "we're gettin' together revolutionary cadres and collectives." ERAP: the groups would connect across the country. Weatherman: "liberated zones."

But there are limits to the parallel between the young intellectuals who determined to "help" the lower class and the Weathermen who meant to lead them. ERAP never deluded itself into believing it would sweep America, merely shift it, draw more students from the campus into its fight. Weatherman turned its back upon ERAP's earlier "agents of social change"—workers, young intellectuals, pacifistic religious people and concerned liberals—in favor of the new *lumpen*, youth. And for a time, the analysis *seemed* useful. After all, they did relate to kids in the Midwest other organizations had forgotten about. But then as this group failed to act as expected, most clearly in the Chicago Days of Rage (October 1969) when no one showed, the only move was inward.

Too simple, too easy to say, as many

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in and out of the Movement, that Weatherpeople were arrogant upper-class kids who expected to get what they wanted, whether pâté or class warfare, that they were second-class non-intellectuals within SDS who *seized* organizational power with a moral absolutism no one could match without, in effect, joining. Yet at their center (with Diana as paradigm) was a consuming desire both to eradicate their privileged pasts and transform, their impotent presents. So, like ERAP groups in various cities, Weatherman collectives focused on the Self ("Despite much talk about armed struggle," one ex-Weatherman writes Jacobs, "the working out of interpersonal relationships probably occupied more time within the organization than anything else."); narrowed and retrenched their struggle, excluding everything and everyone, obliterating the past with exemplary bombs and the present with obsessive sexuality that was finally as cruel and brutal and barbaric as the evils they were fighting.

Jacobs was unable to include the most recent "New Morning" statement (again taking its lead from Dylan), but he avoids Powers' pontification upon the townhouse explosion. The statement was thought a crucial shift and received as such by the Movement, but this was deceptive. It confessed to a multitude of errors, but defined them as "military" rather than "political." This willful self-deception about how one is a revolutionary, the emphasis upon "armed struggle"; "trashing the masses"; "fighting the people" (because they are all Nazis in Amerika), was available, worse, even conscious six months *before* the townhouse incident. At the November 1969 March on Washington, one of the leaders, Bill Ayers, was heard to say to a past president of SDS, "If you want to understand Weatherman, see 'Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid.'" Never dull, Ayers must have understood the ironies: the very American indulgence in violence, the elite manipulation of women, the slightly-decadent Gay Nineties color. But easiest to see and sorriest to know is that Butch and Sundance are anachronisms; romantic outlaws in the age of technology. Even at the end, they plot against reality rather than change it. To know those ironies and to continue as a Weatherman is surely the weirdest death-wish imaginable.

Rather than free the young, Weatherman injected white guilt like an addict speed, which very nearly paralyzed an already guilty Movement—if you weren't tossing bombs, they said, *you* were the Enemy. All projects, all movement, became suspect, judged. After the Days of Rage, Diana's mother asked her if there wasn't another way. She could only respond, "It's the only way, Mummy, it's the only way." With this rationalization, for nearly two years, a social movement was pinned, like so many variously-colored butterflies.

Quest For A Black Theology

JAMES J. GARDINER, S.A. AND DEOTIS ROBERTS, SR.

Pilgrim, $5.95

The Search For Common Ground

HOWARD THURMAN

Harper & Row, $4.95

ELLIOTT WRIGHT

The 1966 interpretation and sanction of "black power" by 38 clergy—who bought space in the New York *Times*—served notice that something more than traditional preaching and civil rights strategizing was taking place in America's black religion. That realization surprised many white brethren who were even more startled two years later when Albert Cleage published *The Black Messiah*. The book told black Christians that Jesus was dark-skinned and that they need not build faith on white theology.

The phrase "black theology" crept into journalism and ecclesiastical rhetoric. "Black church" began replacing "Negro church," historically Protestant, mainly Baptist and Methodist. A new movement, born of the militant black stance, was in progress, wasn't it? Proved in 1969 with James H. Cone's *Black Theology and Black Power*?

Yes and no. Part of what is new in the upsurge of print media attention to black thelogy is a white thing. That is, publishers, editors and churchman in the old power structures have found something new to them: that for a long, long time black Americans have studied and uniquely applied Christianity to themselves, with preaching as major vehicle of articulation.

Yet it is also true that black theologians and pastors are today writing and speaking more on "black theology" as a result of the black power/pride movement. A new demand has been set that theology be blackened and it is this manifestation sketched in *Quest for a Black Theology*.

Gardiner and Roberts have restricted the contents to papers given at a 1969 conference sponsored by the Graymoor Ecumenical Institute and Georgetown University, plus one new essay in which Cleage, pastor of Detroit's Shrine of the Black Madonna (United Church of Christ), succinctly states his views on the centrality of religion in the black revolution.

While a sermon by Christian Methodist Episcopal Bishop Joseph A. Johnson, Jr., of Louisiana is included, the

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book could use—to present a fuller picture—more examples of black "folk religion," which usually comes through the pulpit. One also wonders why nothing representative of the *agape* theology and non-violent social action of Martin Luther King appears in the Gardiner-Roberts anthology. Obviously, the justice-demanding, warm universalism of King is better known than the black Christian nation-building of Cleage.

But the ideology of King represents no small stream in black Christianity. The drive to find spiritual and social ties for binding all men together (the integration thrust) pulsates in Howard Thurman's *The Search for Common Ground*, which can profitably be read along with the more consciously black statements in *Quest*. Dean Emeritus of Boston University's Marsh Chapel, Thurman was a mentor to King. He feels that militancy tending toward separatism can be but a "halt in the line of march toward full community."

The words "quest" and "search" in the titles of these books are not unimportant, for there is not as yet—and may never be—one single black theology. The diversity can be sampled especially in *Quest*. It can, and should, be amplified by dips into Henry H. Mitchell's *Black Preaching* (Lippincott) and Cone's *A Black Theology* of Liberation (Lippincott), and given perspective by the new collection, *The Black Church in America* (Basic Books), edited by Hart M. Nelsen, Raytha L. Yorkley and Anna K. Nelsen.

Diversity exists in approach and content; sociological point of view and interpretation of the Bible. For example, Joseph R. Washington, Jr. makes a case in *Quest* for tracing the roots of slave religion to Africa. "The key to black folk religion is the power with which the black unconscious is stirred through ritualization."

Cleage disagrees. He claims that for the slaves African culture was "uprooted and destroyed." Blacks, he says, were given a new religion—Christianity —which they made their own and are not going to "give it up just because white people have messed it up."

Further, Cleage has only scorn for the Apostle Paul, whom he sees as a first century Uncle Tom, striving to identify with "white gentile Roman oppressions" and failing to "follow in the footsteps of Jesus." Bishop Johnson greatly admires Paul as one knowing firsthand the power of God in "Jesus, the Liberator."

And into the mix comes Thurman, caught up in the dream that mankind can fulfill the creator's intent by fashioning a world of liberty and harmony. The venerable university pastor firmly believes in a "common consciousness" uniting all living things. He finds positive value for self-respect in "black power." But when it comes to attempts to perpetuate racially defined societies, he says a "community cannot feed for long on itself; it can only flourish where always the boundaries are giving way to the coming of others from beyond them —unknown and undiscovered brothers."

Liberation, of course, is the theme shared by practically all black theology. It is a liberation of blacks from white domination and liberation for the church to serve a prophetic role.

Indeed, a growing idea is that the black church alone is presently equipped to act as prophet, the white religious establishment having abandoned the responsibility through selfish bigotry. In *Quest*, Preston Williams, who recently shifted from the Boston University faculty to Harvard, states:

"The role of the prophet in modern society is peculiarly that of the black man and the black church. Black theology and the black church is the proper critic, not of the individual sins of white individuals but of the collective sins that Whites have consciously or unconsciously built into the structures of their society, their churches, and their other institutions."

Williams is careful, however, to point out that in wanting liberation and a redistribution of power black Christians are not thinking only of themselves. Rather, the goal is a "whole church in a healthy and sane world." If black theology can move mankind even a step closer to that ideal, everybody would do well to take up the black quest.

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Power in Africa

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KOFI ANKOMAH

Political terror persists in Africa. Along with rapid change, turbulence and turmoil, military bureaucracies have become rampant. Coups and counter-coups have become the order of the day. Yet publications dealing with Africa have failed to adequately examine the forces that account for such changes. "Think-tank theories" that aim to provide an understanding of the plight of African countries abound. Yet they fail to provide a clear understanding of the major social factors that culminate in coups d'état.

First's book is compelling, perhaps unique in many instances. She asks cogent questions that have direct bearings on understanding the coups d'état, a virus that has become omnipresent

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in Africa. She approaches Africa with great sympathy for the independence movements. She is unsympathetic to post-independence blunders. Hence, when certain African leaders have faltered, she does not hesitate to record their failings. And yet she shows the root causes of Africa's ills and troubles to be partly historical and partly the result of the international context within which selected African countries now find themselves.

First aptly points to four factors that culminated in the recent coups d'état: The first is the economic crisis. That is, she argues, political independence in Africa has not yet enabled African countries to overcome their backward economic conditions, and new instruments of dependence in the form of multinational corporations have replaced national colonialisms. The second, is political crises. They developed, she notes, as a result of the temporary and shallow unity of political movements seeking to transcend the balkanizing effects of colonialism. These were also inherent in the institutional defects constructed by the colonialists at the time of independence, especially as exhibited in the handed-down constitutional instruments. Such constitutional mechanisms reinforced rather than allayed conflicts between politicians and power bureaucrats—the army and the civil servants. These bureaucrats resented the acquisition and use of power by politicians for economic ends. The bureaucrats continue to demand their share of the national cake. Nor were heterogeneous populations in these countries gradually integrated into a nation, but rather efforts were made to set one group against another and thereby foster unrest. A third factor, she argues, is the external attitude toward the legally constituted African government. As she aptly notes, external forces can determine separately or together whether the army should intervene or not. In all this, however, First's analysis transcends the indiscriminate use of conspiracy theories. She provides excellent reasons for the political crises in Africa, seeing that the seeds of the coups d'état were sown in the basic social structure inherited from the colonial era.

Finally, First attributes Africa's trials and tribulations to factors that result from the conditions and status of the army. These factors, she notes, determine, in good measure, whether a government is to be tumbled and a new one installed. Even though there might be intervention in the internal operations of African governments by outside groups, these groups invariably rely on local allies, not agents, to execute coups. External invasion, in short, is the exception rather than the rule in Africa. When intervention works, she argues, it works for powerful interest groups who accede to it and want it to work. The army can offer a place for those elements of the elite that were not part of the government; it can open doors for politicians of the opposition party; it "can be the ladder of power" for those not invited in by the door.

Even though it is too early to provide an adequate appraisal of the coups and counter-coups, First notes that because the armies that create them have lacked an organized link with radical elements in these countries, they do not establish social reforms. In order for African countries to institute social reform, the peasantry needs to be incorporated into the program; but so far, African army coups have failed to do this. Maybe new structures for development can be laid down in those countries that are not yet free. In Guiné-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, struggling for survival may circumvent coups instituted for elite aims and tacitly supported by foreign powers seeking to conserve the status quo.

REVIEWERS

KENNETH REXROTH, novelist, poet and translator, is the author of several books, most recently, *American Poetry in the Twentieth Century*.

GEORGE ABBOTT WHITE is writing a history of SDS.

ELLIOTT WRIGHT is on the staff of Religious News Service. He co-edited *Black Manifesto: Religion, Racism and Reparations* and his most recent book (with Robert Lynn) is *The Big Little School*.

KOFI ANKOMAH is with the Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 75)

sentence reads, "Though *Crow* appeared in England a year before it was first published in this country, poems from the book have been available to American readers through anthologies."

The first American printing of poems from *Crow* appeared in the pages of *The New Yorker*.

HOWARD MOSS
The New Yorker

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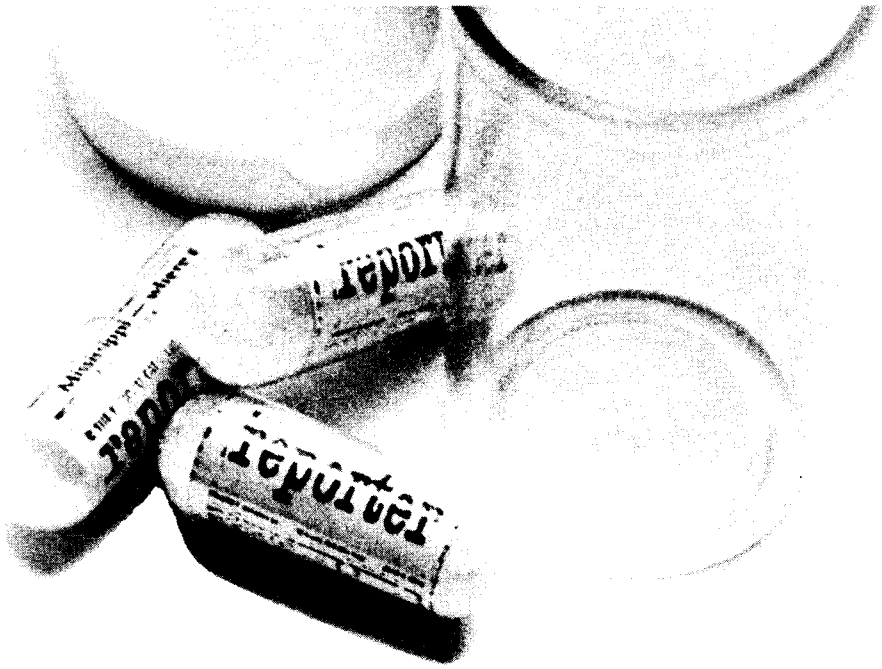

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